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The Negro Before the War.

To The New York Times's Saturday Review:

I see that in your SATURDAY REVIEW of Dec. 24, Page 875, there appears a communication from Troy, N. Y., signed "J. M. B.," in which the writer criticises my letter published in the REVIEW of Oct. 15.

This writer says: "Anybody knows that culture and refinement are associated with the schoolhouse, college, library, and books." I was not aware that these places had the monopoly of these attributes. The culture and refinement I wrote of were those of the families of the slave owners, with whom the slaves came in daily contact, and who were cultivated and refined ladies and gentlemen. Washington was one of these; Gen. Robert Howe, the friend of Washington, was one of these, of whose ancestors one historian, in speaking of the early settlers of the Cape Fear region, writes: "These were no needy adventurers driven by necessity; no unlettered bores—they were gentlemen of birth and education, bred to the refinements of polished society and bringing with them ample fortunes, gentle manners, and cultivated minds."

Gen. Howe was himself sent to England and there reared in the best London circles. Men whose names are too numerous to mention in this letter, who, in the early days of this country, compelled the respect and admiration of the world, were slave owners. As to "J. M. B.'s" statement that negroes who hoed cotton and corn from sun up to sun down had no time for instruction, I might answer, when, then, did the men, women, and children who worked in Northern factories from early morn until dewy eve get their education? There is such a thing as self-culture.

There was scarcely a plantation in the South where religious worship was not held in a suitable building, and the preachers were in the majority of cases negroes. On every plantation there were negro carpenters, architects, blacksmiths, and farmers, showing industrial education. The house servants were taught to read and write, and I have in my possession pages of poetry copied in a fair hand from Moore and other poets by a slave girl for me in my childhood. My old mammy, who belonged to my grandmother and my mother, and who is still alive, has a Bible given to her years ago by her old mistress, in which are written the names, dates of birth and death of her parents, sisters, and brothers, and also those of her own children and grandchildren. Her children were all baptized by our rector, either in my father's library at home or at St. James's Church, where they all worshipped. My mother's slaves were all sent to the church Sunday school in Winter, where white men and women instructed them, and in Summer they were instructed by their mistress in her library. One of mammy's sons, a mere boy, could sing the Te Deum and the chants of the Episcopal Church delightfully. These are facts, not sophistry.

Years before the civil war Northern fanatics began to send incendiary pamphlets and teachers among the negroes of the South. Had not hatred of the white people of the

the incentive of the majority of the abolitionists, they would never have tried to incite the negroes to murder their masters and mistresses, helpless women and children, and turn their property. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor."

There were in my native city, and I know in Charleston, S. C., many free negroes. Some had been freed by their owners; others had bought their freedom. If they were so ill-treated, where did they get the money to buy their freedom? Many of these had brought their owners \$1,000 a year in hire. The Howe negroes and the Mabson negroes were among these, and one Howe negro became a Magistrate in the city and one Mabson was sent to the State Legislature just after the war.

"J. M. B." charges me with reflecting upon the integrity of the Almighty because I wrote: "Might it not be that God allowed them [the negroes] to be deported to the South and so prepared for the state to which they have attained?" We know that God did not only allow the 400 years' bondage of the Hebrews to the Egyptians, but foretold it to Abraham years before it came to pass, and we are told that they were made to serve with rigor. God also saw fit to keep them in the wilderness for forty years (until all that generation save Caleb and Joshua were dead) before He considered them fit for the duties of citizenship. Yet the party in power at the close of the civil war judged the Southern slave ready and fit for these duties. I think that the greatest tribute to the slave owners they could have received. "J. M. B." has entirely misjudged my letter and misrepresented me.

As to the "adultery, fornication, dissolution of the marriage tie, and unsanctified hearthstones," if statistics speak truly the whole world is full of it. One of my earliest recollections is of a marriage supper prepared and served in my father's dining room for a slave girl belonging to my mother and who had been married at St. Paul's Church, Wilmington, and that was no uncommon thing.

"J. M. B." speaks of the negro as like a blind Samson, grinding in the mill of American slavery for 250 years. Did these slaves receive no return for their labor? They were fed, clothed and cared for when sick. They had the time to raise in the plots of ground assigned to each cabin such vegetables as they chose. They raised turkeys, chickens, ducks, and pigs, and sold them and also their eggs, either to the white families or at the nearest market. May I add, my friend, let us reason together? Neither section is perfect; far from it. We, when we are unable to go among you and judge for ourselves of facts, will accept your representation of the state of affairs in your section, and you will do the same by us; then there will be no rancor, no hardness of heart, because of misjudgment, but a united country, whose desire is the best interest of all. The generation of those who were slaves is rapidly passing away; the question now is what has the enfranchised negro done with his new opportunities and how has he benefited by this new state of things? E. H. M.

THE SOUTH AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The Southern view of negro suffrage is strongly emphasized in certain comments recently made by leading Southern men on the political disorders which culminated early this month in the overthrow of the legally established city government of Wilmington, N. C. As was perhaps to be expected, the suppression by mob violence of a municipal administration, based on the will of a declared majority, meets no serious censure either as an invasion of the rights of the dispossessed officials or as an affront to public order. Opinion in the South seems to be unanimous in sustaining the resort to force by which black rule, so-called, was overthrown in Wilmington, and there is no Southern statesman bold enough, apparently, to admit that in a similar contingency his respect for the fundamental law of the Republic—that the will of the majority shall control in government—would be proof against the current sentiment which demands exclusive white supremacy in politics at the sacrifice of any and all the written guarantees of statutes and Constitution.

Carried to their logical conclusion, agitations like that which upset the local government of Wilmington aim at the complete exclusion of the negro from all share in the activities of political life. North Carolina is not a negro State. Its white population far outnumbers its black population, and its white voters cast from three-fifths to two-thirds of the suffrage in every election, State or Presidential. Actual negro domination in State affairs is plainly impossible. The real animus of the Wilmington motive is, therefore, to be found in a desire to crush that union of a considerable fraction of the white voters with the blacks which has carried a certain number of negroes into posts of minor emolument and authority. If the North Carolina outbreak, and the manner in which it has been received, mean anything, they mean that opinion in the South has reached that point at which it contemplates the elimination of the negro as a voter and office-holder as one of the fixed necessities of further political and social progress. The determination of the South to rid itself of negro suffrage and all that it involves is, indeed, written large in every direction. In States like South Carolina and Mississippi negro voters have been disfranchised under legal forms. In States like Virginia, Alabama and Louisiana the right of the blacks to suffrage is nullified by partisan control of the machinery of elections. Now, in North Carolina, violence is appealed to to undo the results of two or three years of a fair ballot and an honest count, and when Southern opinion is consulted as to the possible remedies for existing election frauds and disorders the only solutions offered are absolute non-interference with present conditions, or a wholesale deportation of the Southern blacks "as a duty to the race and for the sake of humanity."

That the people of the South are sincere in their view that the suppression of negro

suffrage, in whole or in part, is the one requisite of political safety need not be doubted. There are even negro leaders of distinction and eminence, like Professor Booker T. Washington, who seem to admit that the negro race's sole hope of progress lies in an abandonment of politics and a concentration of all its energies on the work of industrial education and advancement. To earn his title to the suffrage the negro should, in this view, establish, first, his worth as an artisan and a citizen; and his place once won in the world of industry, his resumption of political activities might be accomplished without friction or prejudice. Till then, however, in Southern eyes, the negro is to be judged a political zero; in the words of no less distinguished a Southerner than Senator Morgan, he cannot at present "be admitted to the family circle of the white race or to domination in government, whatever voting strength he may possess in any locality."

One curious test has yet to be applied to the sincerity of the average Southerner's belief that the suppression of negro suffrage is one of the crying needs of the present day. According to the second section of the XIVth Amendment to the Constitution, when a State denies, except for crime, to any of its male inhabitants, twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, the right to vote at any general election, the basis of that State's representation in the lower branch of Congress shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of citizens disfranchised bears to the whole number of male citizens. When will some Southern statesman have the candor and courage to introduce and advocate in Congress legislation diminishing representation in the House from those States in which the exercise of suffrage by negro voters has been reduced to the merest legal fiction? If the exclusion of the black man from all political privileges is the one imperative demand of Southern civilization, would it not be worth the sacrifice of that share of the South's power in the popular branch of Congress which is now based admittedly on suppressed votes? Were Southern Representatives and Senators to unite in support of a measure so logically deducible from their own views and purposes, the public at large might put a more implicit faith in their programme of restricted negro suffrage "for the sake of humanity and as a duty to the negro race."

New York Daily Tribune
November 25-18

THE COLORED RACE IN THE CENSUS.

Recently-published bulletins of the eleventh census have now given us the number of the colored population in 1890, that is to say, the population of those of African descent, for the whole country, the Northern States as well as the Southern, and show that of the total colored or negro population—7,470,040—3,889,152 were found in the South, that is to say, in the old slave States, including the District of Columbia, and 580,888 in the North, meaning thereby all the other States and the Territories. Geographically, this division into the two groups is nearly enough correct, and it separates the States also according to another most important criterion—besides the recent existence of slavery—that is to say, it groups together all those States where the colored population is found in large numbers relatively to the white population. In the South they formed 30.7 per cent. of the whole; in the North only 1.45 per cent. Since 1880 their increase had been 889,247 for the whole country, or at the rate of 13.5 per cent., and of this increase 99,348 was in the North, or at the rate of 20.6 per cent., and 789,899 in the South, or at the rate of 13 per cent. There can be no doubt that these apparent rates of increase for the two sections are not the true rates of natural increase. There can be no doubt that at the North, taken altogether, the colored population grows very little, if at all, through natural increase, but almost entirely, perhaps exclusively, through immigration from the South, and by the same token we must make a considerable allowance for that stream of emigration to get at the true rate of natural increase among the Southern negroes.

That the apparent increase of the Northern negroes is really through immigration is shown by an examination of the colored population of the South, and of the growth of that population in sections, or belts, dividing the Southern States into three groups, taking Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, the two Virginias, Kentucky, and Missouri as one group, which we may call the Border States; taking North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas as another group, which may be called the Middle Belt, and grouping the rest of the States together as the Far South. The colored population in these three sections in 1880 and in 1890 was as follows:

	Border States.	Middle Belt.	Far South.
1890	1,403,833	1,300,813	4,182,406
1880	1,370,571	1,145,094	3,583,588
Increase.	33,362	155,719	598,818

And, without giving the exact figures for the white population in these three groups of States for either census year, it will be enough to say that the colored population in 1880 was in the Far South about 46 per cent. of the whole, in the Middle Belt about 31 per cent., in the Border States about 19 per cent. We have, then, in the region furthest south, where the colored population was greatest in actual numbers and greatest relatively, the largest rate of increase, 16.7 per cent.; in the next most southerly region, where they were next most numerous relatively, the next largest rate of increase, 13.6 per cent., and in the Border States, where they were least numerous relatively, the very small rate of increase, 2.6 per cent. The white population, meanwhile, had been increasing in the Border States nearly 20 per cent., in the Middle Belt nearly 24 per cent., in the Far South 29 per cent. Now it is evident that in the Far South the climate and the conditions are, of all those which the country affords, the best suited to the negro's development. In the Middle Belt the climate, although not quite so hot, is nearly, perhaps quite, as well suited to his development, but the conditions are slightly less favorable; that is to say, there are a good many regions throughout North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas where the colored population is so thinly scattered and is so small relatively to the white, that we should expect a smaller rate of increase. In the Border States the climate, though not perhaps as good, is still fairly good for the development of that race, but the conditions are appreciably less favorable, first, because the colored population is generally much smaller relatively to the white, is in most places less dense absolutely, in many districts very sparse, and, secondly, because it is to a much larger extent an urban population, (as in Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Louisville, and St. Louis.) We should naturally then expect to see an appreciable falling off in the rate of increase as compared with the Middle Belt. But we should not expect to see a sudden drop from 13.06 per cent. in the one region to 2.6 per cent. in the other. Still less should we expect to see a sudden and remarkable rise from 2.6 per cent. to 20.6 per cent when

we cross over into the North from the Southern Border States. In the North the negroes are but one in seventy of the total population, the only place where they are found in large numbers relatively is the extreme southern end of Illinois, (where, in three counties, they form about 22 per cent. of the population,) the only other places where they are found close together in large numbers absolutely are towns and cities, where, to a large extent, their occupations—domestic service and the like—and their modes of life are by no means those which conduce to a large increase. Further, the colored people in the North are appreciably a more prosperous, a better educated, a more ambitious class than the average Southern negroes, and for those reasons, if no others, would show a slower rate of increase. In short, both in climate and in all important conditions, the negroes at the North are very differently situated from those in the South, and at the same time the situation of the Border State negroes is in every way less unlike theirs than is the situation of the negroes of the middle belt and of the Far South. If the rate of increase of the Northern colored population, 29.6 per cent., the highest of all, is a natural rate of increase, then we should look to find the next highest rate in the Border States, the next in the Middle Belt, and the lowest in the Far South. But we find precisely the opposite of this. It is quite certain that the very sudden drop in the rate of increase of the colored population in the Border States as compared with the States further South is to be accounted for by emigration to the North.

It is quite certain that the colored loss in Kentucky and the considerable gain in Indiana, the colored loss in the northern tier of counties in Maryland, and the considerable gain in the southern tier of counties in Pennsylvania, cannot be explained otherwise than by a Northward drift of the colored population, nor can we find any other explanation of the fact that in some of the most northerly of the Northern States the colored population decreased, while in all of the southernmost Northern States it increased, nor can we otherwise explain their rapid growth in Northern cities, such as Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Camden, and New York. It is possible that the colored population at the North may, without the reinforcement from the South, be actually decreasing in numbers, but the supposition that it remains stationary comports very

well with the figures when considered in the light of the natural rate of colored increase reasonably to be looked for in the Southern Border States. That rate of increase would be, we must remember, somewhat less, but not so very much less, than the 13.6 shown for North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Probably nine and a half per cent. would be a pretty close approximation to the true figures.

We can now see that a readjustment must be made of the figures showing the percentage of increase of the Southern negroes as a whole. The total gain in the ten years, 889,247, appeared to show a rate of increase for the whole country of 13.5 per cent., but inasmuch as the colored population at the North (181,540 in 1880) was not increasing, and may be taken to have been stationary, this really meant an increase not of 13.5 per cent. upon a total of 6,580,793, but of 14.6 per cent. upon the total of 6,099,253, which was the colored population of the South in 1880. The colored increase in the seven States of the Far South was, as we have seen, 59.8% or at the rate of 16.7 per cent., which we may take to represent the present natural rate of increase for that race under the most favorable conditions, climatic and other. It was doubtless affected little by emigration. Several thousands may have moved in southwestwardly from North Carolina, but they must have been pretty well balanced by those who moved out northwestwardly into Arkansas. The natural increase of the three States of the Middle Belt cannot have been far from 14 per cent., or 160,313, which will allow for a loss of between 1,000 and 5,000 by emigration to the North and West. The increase in the Southern Border States was probably somewhere near 9.5 per cent., say—to make the totals tally exactly—130,141. The natural increase in the Northern States was nothing at all, and their gain of nearly 160,000 is to be credited to the Southern States, almost all of it to the Border States.

On the whole, it is rather a matter for surprise that the negroes of the South show so little of the migratory instinct, that they "stay put" so patiently in the region where they may happen to be. They share to some extent with the whites the tendency to move into new and unsettled lands, which generally means, of course, to move westwardly, and the census returns for Missouri, where the colored increase was greater than the average of the Border

States, for Arkansas, Texas, and Florida furnish evidence of this, and, besides, there is, as we have seen, in the Border States a tendency to a northward drift. But this tendency is not exhibited so strongly as might have been expected, and it hardly manifests itself at all outside of the Border States. We cannot see the evidence of any southward movement, except into Florida from adjoining States.

The Abolition of Slavery by the Cherokees.

In 1861 the Cherokees had long been a slave-holding people under the influence of their early surroundings. The war found them already divided into two factions. Under the influence of Southern emissaries the disloyal Cherokees were organized into "Blue Lodges" and "Knights of the Golden Circle," while the loyal masses by a spontaneous movement organized themselves into a loyal league known as the "Ketoowah," sometimes derisively called the "Pin Society," in allusion to the two crossed pins worn by the members on their jackets as a distinguishing mark. The Ketoowah societies were soon to be found in every part of the Cherokee nation, and embraced in their membership a great majority of the voters, especially of the full-blooded Indians. The meetings were always held in secret places, often in the deep forest or in the mountains, and the initiates were given to understand that a violation of the sacred oath was a crime punishable by death. The primary object of this league was to resist encroachments on Indian rights and Indian territory and to preserve the integrity and peace of the Cherokee nation according to the stipulations of the treaty of 1846, but it finally united in working for the abolition of slavery, and by its means a large majority of the Cherokees became at length firmly grounded in their fidelity to the Federal Government.

The Cherokees numbered in 1861 about 22,000. Of these 8500 joined the Confederates and went south, and 13,500 remained at home. On the 21st of August, 1861, the Cherokees, finding themselves at the mercy of the Confederate forces and practically left to their fate by the Federal Government, met in convention at Tahlequah and resolved to make a treaty of peace with the Confederate authorities; but on February 18, 1863, finding themselves no longer constrained by superior force, a national council was held at Cowskin Prairie, where the treaty was denounced as null and void, any office held by a disloyal Cherokee was declared vacant, and, more remarkable still, an act was passed abolishing slavery in the Cherokee nation. Through the kindness of the chief, I have been permitted to copy an act from the records:

AN ACT EMANCIPATING THE SLAVES IN THE CHEROKEE NATION.

Be it enacted by the National Council: That all Negro and other slaves within the lands of the Cherokee Nation be and they are hereby emancipated from slavery, and any person or persons who may have been held in slavery are hereby declared to be forever free.

Be it further enacted, That this act shall go into effect on the twenty-fifth (25th) day of June, 1863. And any person who, after the said 25th day of June, 1863, shall offend against the provisions of this act, by enslaving or holding any person in slavery within the limits of the Cherokee Nation, he or she so offending shall, on conviction thereof before any of the Courts of this nation having jurisdiction of the case, forfeit and pay for each offense a sum not less than one thousand (\$1000) dollars, or more than five thousand (\$5000) dollars, at the discretion of the Court.

Two-thirds of said fine shall be paid in the National Treasury, and one-third shall be paid, in equal sums, the Solicitor and the sheriff of the District in which the offense shall have been committed. And it is hereby made the duty of the Solicitors of the several Districts to see that this law is duly enforced. But in case any Solicitor shall neglect or fail to discharge his duties hereunder and shall be convicted thereof, he shall be deposed from his office, and shall hereafter be ineligible to hold any office of trust or honor in this nation.

The Acting Principal Chief is hereby required to give due notice of this act.

Be it further enacted, That all laws and parts of laws conflicting with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

COWSKIN PRAIRIE, C. N.
Feb. 21st, 1863.

J. B. JONES,
Clerk National Com.
Concurred in Council.

LEWIS DOWNING,
Pres. pro tem. School Com.
SPRING FROG,
Speaker of Council.

Approved Feb. 21st, 1863.

ITHACA, N. Y.

THOS. PEGG,
Acting Principal Chief.
George E. Foster.

